1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Papago records are full of accounts of the lynching of shamans whose power had turned destructive, perhaps without their knowledge. I'itoi himself was killed in just this way. It may be suggested that the story of the "dying god," shared by the Papago with several California tribes, is, in fact, a magnified picture of shaman killing, reflecting actual practice among the peoples concerned. [171]

CONTACT WITH THE SUPERNATURALS

Contact with the supernaturals was achieved by two methods that differ so much that they amount to separate religious systems. On the one hand was a calendric round of ceremonies, conducted by a priestly hierarchy and bringing blessing to the whole community. It was a system of group control, in which the average man made no individual approach to the supernatural and received no individual power. He danced as directed, and he helped with the manual work of a ceremony, but he had no other responsibility. The blessing he received was the general one of well being for his village.

Opposed to this was the democratic concept of the guardian spirit, opening the power quest to everyone. Formerly a Papago expected no success in life unless he had met some spirit tutelary who had given him a song for use in time of need. Old tales do not speak of heroes by name, but rather as hawk meeter, Coyote meeter, crane meeter. The conquest of the great houses is explained by the statement: "They could do nothing against us, we had so many meeters."

One such system has usually been enough for an Indian group—as communal ceremonies were for the Pueblos, and the vision for the Plains. With the Papago the two seem to have been almost equally developed. However, each had a distinct function. Communal ceremonies brought rain and therefore food; they have been spoken of here as "food ceremonies." Vision experiences brought power for individual achievements; the rites which set the seal on such achievements have been referred to as "power ceremonies." Different as the two were, both in purpose and in procedure, they were oriented to one final end, the acquisition of rain. Even in-

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dividual power might bring this as the end result, and he who had attained that power in the highest degree had the title *siiwanyi*, or rain magician.

Food ceremonies form the more conspicuous part of Papago religious practices. They were carried on according to a yearly schedule for the making of rain, the growth of crops, the cleansing of food, the celebration of the harvest, and, once in four years, "to keep the world in order." Usually these ceremonies were based on I'itoi's exploits, and in them his songs were used. They were conducted by the regular village leaders: the keeper of the smoke, for rainmaking; the hunt chief, for the cleansing of deer and the harvest; the game chief, for the intervillage meet; the war chief, for the communal phase of the war ceremonies, which was specially dedicated to rain. Only in one case was the group of village officiants set aside, and that was for the unique prayer-stick festival, which had a hierarchy of its own, equally stable.

Food ceremonies took place on the village dance ground or in the brush hut which served both as council house and as sacred building. Usually all the elders of the village assisted in the singing, while selected boys and girls might perform a dance. The ceremony, at its fullest, required the exposure of a fetish (in Pueblo terms we might say the setting up of an altar), the recitation of a speech describing the desired event, the singing of songs to the same end, and a dance with paraphernalia. Not all ceremonies were so complete. The rainmaking cermony, for instance, lacked paraphernalia; most ceremonies for growth lacked the dance; the driving away of evil was reduced to songs only.

No supernatural was mentioned. Songs and recitations merely described the desired event in vivid terms, and the very description brought it to pass. Probably the whole was meant to reproduce an achievement of I'itoi in the early days of the world, and the speaker actually impersonated him.[12] Words, tune, costumes, and dance

[12] Cf. the Cora songs for liquor fermentation and for deer hunting (Preuss, 1912b, pp. 22–23, 40–41) in which Morning Star is described as thinking over and performing each step in the above processes in much the terms used in the Papago speeches. The Cora *tonarikan*, Morning Star, is often called Elder Brother, as I'itoi is.

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steps must all be in exact accordance with prescription, otherwise misfortune would attack the performer or, perhaps, the whole community.

Quite different was the plan of the power ceremonies. Here were no hereditary officials and no calendric round. Ceremonies were left to the initiative of the individual, and it was not even necessary for the community to be present. Nor did it benefit, except indirectly. The occasion for these ceremonies was a vision, but not one of the average sort, which might occur without effort on the dreamer's part.[14] Power ceremonies were a form of initiation, held after a man had been in close and dangerous contact with the supernatural. Three acts could bring about such a contact: killing an enemy, killing an eagle, or fetching salt from the ocean. They were in the nature of a purification and an initiation, validating a power received through ordeal. This ordeal was not a useless self-torture; it was an act of practical benefit to the community.

Having performed one of the ritual acts, a man had ranged himself on the side of the supernatural. But the power which now flowed through him was equally potent for good or for evil, and he must go through a period of purification lest it destroy him. This purification was truly an ordeal, involving the usual fast of the Southwest—abstention from meat, grease, and salt, and also sexual continence—the use of a stick for touching the head, avoidance of the sun and of fire, and a purifying cold bath. But these rigors were not endured in order to draw pity from the supernatural. Papago religious practices contain no element of humility or supplication; it was the expression of a democratic community in which groveling before superiors was an unknown concept. The neophyte was considered to have obtained supernatural power already, and the purpose of his ordeal was to tame it for his use.

Until this had been done he was dangerous, both to himself and to others. He and the fetish he had acquired—scalp, sea shells, or eagle feathers—were avoided by all. So close was the family tie thought to be that his wife, his children, and all their relatives must

[14] See Underhill, 1939, pp. 167–74.

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undergo a modified form of purification at the same time. They would expect to share in the benefits of his power, but unless they took precautions it would harm them.

It was during his[½] period of seclusion that visions came. Here two contradictory ideas had to be reconciled, for the neophyte was expected to learn from others, as well as dreaming for himself. The visions generally followed a pattern of visions recounted to him in standardized recitations by his "ceremonial father." This "made father" (*ókta*) was chosen by the neophyte from the men who had been through the experience previously. The lines of behavior follow those of a society initiation, yet the "made fathers" were not a society. Perhaps it was the semi-nomadic life of the Papago which prevented their closer organization, but they remained individuals, gathering in groups only on special occasions.

The neophyte might learn recitations and songs by rote from his "made father," and this in itself gave him power. Also, the animals were supposed to find him particularly pleasing during his purification and to choose this time for their visits. In this way the idea of the guardian spirit and of a form of priestly initiation were reconciled. Ultimately the neophyte was free. The informal group of ceremonial fathers received him back into the community, singing the songs that ratified his power, blowing purifying smoke over him, and finally calling him by the kinship term. The new *siakam*, or ripe man,[18] was now eligible to take part again in community life.

There was another purificatory process—so like the three already mentioned that it has been classed with them—the segregation of girls at puberty, an ancient rite, far more widespread in the Papago area than any purification for men. It involved the same features: segregation, partial fasting, use of the scratching stick, cold baths, and the avoidance of looking at the sun or at fire.

Obviously, the power which comes upon a girl of nubile age was thought similar to that dangerous magic which men could acquire only by effort. It had the same effect of making the girl dangerous

[18] Cf. the Keresan use of *crude* (raw) to denote those who belong to no society (Dumarest, p. 198; White, 1935, pp. 135, 167). The Zuni, according to Cushing, speak of mankind as "done, baked, ripe" and of the animals and animal gods as "raw" (Cushing, 1880–81, p. 198).

[½ [i.e., now undergoing purification after having performed a ritual act which contaminated him. —Analyst]

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not only to herself but also to others until she had been purified. But the ceremony in her case was negative, nullifying evil, but conferring no positive reward. Whereas the man fasted almost to starvation, the girl fasted only formally. While the man was received into the fellowship of initiates, the girl was merely freed from restrictions until she next became dangerous. The dance, with license, which followed was a thoroughly practical expedient, making the women available to the village as future mothers rather than conferring any personal benefit upon them.[18] Perhaps we might think of the psychological attitude here as similar to that of the Aztecs, which equated the child-bearing woman with the warrior.

Failure to complete the ceremony in any of these cases meant danger, both to the individual and to the community. If a "ripe man" did not guard and "feed" his fetish properly, "he could make us all sick." If a girl omitted her ceremony, her village might be struck by lightning. This constantly expressed fear of the misuse of power is one of the basic elements in Papago religion. Shaman, eagle killer, enemy slayer, salt pilgrim, and woman were objects of constant suspicion, lest their supernatural contacts should be improperly treated. Few groups have placed so many people in this category or demanded such rigorous purification.

The final objective of every ordeal was rain and food. The girl's ceremony had its fertility features, to aid the growth of corn. The man became a rainbringer, for, said informants, if he had been through all three purifications, he achieved the title *stiwanyi*, the word used for the rain magicians of the ruined great houses. Papago religion, oriented to the stark essentials of life, channeled all its ceremonies toward the goal expressed in the growth rituals: "Thus I shall feed my children and my relatives, coming from afar."

[18] Sahagún, Seler, pp. 304-5.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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being able to breathe freer in the lower stratum of air. As soon as all were seated, including members of the family, the old medicine-man took the word. Without further formality he began to tell about the creation of the world by Elder Brother Íitoi and about the deluge. After having dwelt on these themes for half an hour or more, he asked my interpreter if I believed the world was created as the Papago believe, or if I entertained the belief of the Mexicans. Clemente very diplomatically answered that he had never asked me of my beliefs. The lore of the tribe arouses strange feelings even in a civilized Papago, for an Indian is nothing if not religious, and Clemente became eloquent, confessing at the start that he, having been brought up among Mexicans, knew little of his own religion. A man of position from Quitovac, on a visit to La Nariz, expressed his opinion that surely all nations have different religions and different gods, and the Papagoes were contented to have theirs, Íitoi.

Among the Indians who were serviceable here was a man of slightly darker complexion than usual, but tall and of very fine appearance, as evidenced in his name, Rainbow. His family were also nice and in his house I felt at home, changing films for my camera in the cool shade of the dwelling and even photographing the inmates. With him I visited ancient fortifications on the dark looking hill, of igneous origin, hardly four hundred feet high, which gave La Nariz its name. Where the trenches begin, about half-way up, there is a large stone as high as a man's chest; on its flat top were small artificial excavations in a row, each looking like the inside of a cup,

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 four seconds apart. Throughout the afternoon he pulled a stick across
533 a notched and concave piece of wood supported between two of the baskets, in the same tempo. He held the far end of the notched stick firmly against the basket with his left hand, and pulled the other stick toward him with his right. The movements were evenly spaced, but abrupt.

796 The two boys, arms stiff at sides, extended them slightly at one
534 drum beat, and returned them to position at the next. The girls bent a little at the knees at one beat, and straightened at the next. The denim-clad attendant watched over these four like a hawk, correcting the angle at which the girls held the corn, or the boys their bows and arrows, tilting their heads up if they drooped, and wiping their faces
[516] carefully with a cloth every few minutes. These four, at intervals of possibly half an hour, were helped to a kneeling position by the attendant, where they remained, heads bowed and eyes closed, for perhaps ten minutes. At the end of this time the attendant carefully helped them to their feet again.

796 The men in white walked up and down at intervals in front of these four, and spectators were seen to walk with them on several occasions. What they or the spectators did we could not find out. Many of the
[781] people in the crowd watched these performers in the lean-to with great interest and respect, and the whole atmosphere of this part of the ritual was that of solemnity, in contrast to the clowning of the dancers.

796 During the morning, the chorus carried many different objects, in-
293 cluding several elaborate floats. In addition to the objects carried
532 by the chorus at Anegam, there were red staves about 6' long, with bundles of grass, resembling ears of corn, tied to them at intervals. Similar staves were carried at another time, with the addition of what seemed to be imitation corn tassels on the top of each one. Husked ears of corn were carried at least once. Each of these different objects was carried more than once during the day, notably the "cloud symbols" which were carried at more or less regular intervals.

The first float was a well stuffed deer standing on a stretcher-like framework of poles. The dancers prepared for his appearance with a great hullabaloo and much pantomiming, some crouching and aiming their guns, others pretending to set up blinds of grass, others stalking the deer and hunting for tracks. When the deer appeared, and during the marching, the dancers aimed at it with guns and bows or touched it with lances. The men with guns pretended to place the charges or to clean the barrels with their ram rods. The crowd applauded all this with much excited talk and many jests, answered several times by dancers who ran at the crowd and scattered the onlookers with fierce charging and war-like gestures. The chorus carried tiny bows and arrows painted red, held at the draw, each chorister aiming his arrow upwards to the left.